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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 ANKARA 002304

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TAGS: [PREL](#) [ETRD](#) [EINV](#) [MARR](#) [MASS](#) [IN](#) [PK](#) [TU](#)  
SUBJECT: TURKEY CELEBRATES 60 YEARS OF PAKISTAN  
"BROTHERHOOD"

REF: A. ANKARA 2134  
[1](#)B. ANKARA 1793  
[1](#)C. ANKARA 1805

Classified By: PolCouns Janice G. Weiner, reasons 1.4 b, d

[1](#)1. (C) Summary. Historical ties, shared experience, and common interests in the region have forged a 60-year bond of friendship and alliance between Pakistan and Turkey that has endured political and ideological changes in the two countries. Despite an Islamic ideology that is in marked contrast to Turkish secularism, many Turks see Pakistan as their closest ally -- one that has consistently supported Turkish policy in Cyprus and elsewhere. The two largest non-Arab, Sunni countries in the region are deepening their political, military and economic ties, while the GOT tries to use its influence to broker dialogue and cooperation between the Presidents of Pakistan and Afghanistan. The GOT cannot be seen to be pressuring President Musharraf on the need for political reform at home, but Turkey's leaders, through their close, personal ties to the Pakistani President, can quietly influence his thinking at this critical juncture. End Summary.

#### Historical Ties

[1](#)2. (U) Until 1924, the Ottoman Sultan, in his capacity as Caliph, was a symbol of unity for Muslims, including in pre-partition India. Muslims in the British Empire collected funds and sent medical missions to support Turkish forces in their losing efforts to stave off the Ottoman Empire's dissolution. The agony that many Indian Muslims felt over the abolition of the Caliphate in 1924 soon transformed into an admiration of the emerging modern Turkish state. Turks remember with gratitude this support, contrasting it with what they viewed as betrayal by Arabs during WWI. Turkey was thus keen to establish a close relationship with another large non-Arab Muslim country, and quickly did so upon Pakistan's independence.

[1](#)3. (SBU) In 1964, the two countries signed a treaty declaring their intent to refrain from intervention in each other's domestic affairs, consult on international matters of mutual interest, and cooperate to the maximum extent in the cultural, economic and technical fields, including the production of arms and ammunition. The two governments pledged as well to cooperate in the event of an unprovoked attack. Turkey and Pakistan were also part of the 1955 Baghdad Pact designed to counter Soviet expansion to the south, which became the Central Treaty Organization (CENTO). The Prime Minister of Turkey in 1965 invoked CENTO in his statement condemning Indian hostilities in West Pakistan. The Afghan war against the Soviet Union saw Pakistani and

Turkish interests further converge. However, with the fall of the Soviet Union, Turkey sought to extend its influence to the Turkic peoples of Central Asia, including in northern Afghanistan. Pakistan's recognition of the Taliban government chilled bilateral relations for a few years.

#### "Brotherly Relations"

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¶4. (C) On the occasion of Pakistan's independence anniversary, then-Turkish FM Abdullah Gul lauded the "deep brotherly relations" between Turkey and Pakistan. President Musharraf has already visited Turkey twice in 2007. Musharraf actually lived in Ankara for six years as a child, when his father served at the Pakistani Embassy. He speaks Turkish, and is known here as a great admirer of Ataturk and a big fan of Turkish soccer club Besiktas. In 2004, Musharraf became the first Pakistani leader to address the Turkish parliament. Numerous bilateral MOUs between the two sides have recently been signed on combating international terrorism and organized crime, counter-narcotics, transport, health, banking, and the environment. The anti-terrorism MOU stipulates that the two sides are to pursue a joint strategy and exchange experts on intelligence. MFA Director General for South Asia Bozkurt Aran recently informed us that Turkey's newly sworn-in President Gul is likely to make one of his first foreign trips to Pakistan (ref A).

#### Mutual Support on Cyprus and Kashmir

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¶5. (SBU) The two sides offer each other support on issues that resonate deeply with their respective populaces: Cyprus and Kashmir. Pakistan was the only major country to support

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the 1974 Turkish intervention in northern Cyprus. On a recent trip to Turkey, Musharraf stated, "Pakistan fully supports the Turkish Cypriots struggle for their just cause."

Islamabad is one of only six cities in the world where the "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" (TRNC) maintains an "official" representative office. In 2006, Musharraf received "TRNC" "President" Talat, referring to him as "president," and promised to help end the isolation of northern Cypriots.

¶6. (SBU) Turkey has traditionally supported Pakistan's official stance on Kashmir -- that a free and fair plebiscite in Kashmir under the supervision of the UN should take place as specified in the UNSC resolutions on Kashmir. Ankara still supports the UN option but has, in recent years, begun to emphasize the importance of India-Pakistan bilateral talks on the issue. Despite sharing with India a common problem of cross-border terrorism, the GOT has generally not sought to highlight this, understanding that India holds Pakistan accountable for cross-border terror, and not wishing to dilute its official stance on Kashmir's right to self-determination.

#### Military and Security Cooperation

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¶7. (C) The High level Military Dialogue (HLMDG), which meets twice per year, is the principal forum for defense cooperation between the two countries. The HLMDG builds on the Pakistan-Turkey Military Group, formed in 1988, which worked on extending cooperation in the field of military training and defense production. Regular military exercises held by Turkish and Pakistani forces reflect the close military relationship. The two sides held their most recent joint exercise, "Jinnah-V," August 21-31, which featured joint services training focused on air assault and counter-terrorism operations. Defense procurement and production are also mainstays of the relationship. A Turkish defense firm, in conjunction with Lockheed Martin, is providing avionics upgrades to Pakistan's F-16s, and there

have been reports of Turkish firms participating on Pakistan's next generation battle tank program. The two countries also cooperate on anti-narcotics and counter-terrorism programs. Pakistani officials regularly receive training at the Turkish International Academy Against Drugs and Organized Crime (TADOC) -- a service Turkey pledged to expand during recent tripartite discussions with the foreign ministers of Pakistan and Afghanistan (ref B).

#### Economic and People-to-People Ties Lagging

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18. (SBU) By contrast, economic ties between the two countries are relatively weak. Bilateral trade in 2006 was only worth about \$500 million. A few leading Turkish companies have invested in Pakistani infrastructure projects, but a negligible number of Pakistani companies do business in Turkey. Transportation links between the two countries are inadequate: air transport is limited and expensive and no direct maritime connections exist. The two countries also specialize in many of the same economic sectors -- textiles, cotton, leather -- and their target export markets are often the same, further lessening the scope for economic partnership. Cultural affinities are not exploited through academic exchanges or other people-to-people contacts. A few Pakistani students study in Turkey; even fewer Turks study in Pakistan. The two parliaments in 1985 formed the Pakistan-Turkish Friendship association, aimed at promoting exchanges between the two legislatures, but there is a lack of substance. Then Turkish Parliamentary Speaker Bulent Arinc visited Pakistan in 2006.

19. (SBU) Turkey and Pakistan, along with Iran, established the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) in 1985, as a successor to the 1962 Regional Cooperation for Development. The newly independent Central Asian states, along with Azerbaijan and Afghanistan, joined the organization in 2002. The three founding members also established the ECO Cultural Institute in 1995, and the ECO Trade and Development Bank in 2005, headquartered in Istanbul. ECO has not had a major impact on the economic development of its member states; trade among member states is only about six percent of the bloc's total trade. In July 2007, Iran joined the parliaments of Turkey and Pakistan in ratifying the 2003 ECO Trade Agreement (ECOTA). ECOTA is a limited measure, seeking only to extend most favored nation treatment throughout the bloc. Turkish State Minister for Foreign Trade Kursad Tuzmen, however, stated that Iranian ratification will allow

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Turkey to implement preferential trade deals with Iran and Pakistan in 2008.

10. (U) Pakistan is only a limited recipient of Turkish foreign assistance. Turkey, however, responded immediately and generously to the devastating earthquake that struck Pakistan in 2005, providing \$126 million worth of emergency relief -- \$6 million in direct cash assistance -- about one-fifth of Turkey's 2005 development assistance budget.

#### Democracy and Secularism: Close Ties Withstand Different Approaches

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11. (C) Turkey and Pakistan generally allowed neither competing ideologies nor domestic politics to affect their relations. GOT officials view Musharraf as a moderate force, critical to Pakistan's stability. They believe a quick return to civilian rule is no longer an option, but will quietly encourage Musharraf to gradually expand the moderate base by reintroducing Benazir Bhutto to the political scene (ref A). Turkish officials also view Pakistan as a potentially moderating influence in the Islamic world and a partner in bridging East and West. Gul has endorsed the concept of "enlightened moderation," introduced by Musharraf at the tenth Organization for Islamic Conference (OIC) Summit

in Malaysia, and sees it as consistent with the "Alliance for Civilizations" initiative Turkey co-founded with Spain.

Afghanistan: GOT Sees Pakistan Connection to Taliban  
Resurgence

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¶12. (C) Although Turkish officials have complained privately to us that ISI and Taliban-supported forces have begun targeting their inveterate ally, Afghan-Uzbek leader Rashid Dostum (ref C), the GOT has so far avoided publicly criticizing Pakistan over the Taliban resurgence. It has instead utilized its strong ties to the Pakistani and Afghan leadership to promote dialogue and cooperation between Presidents Musharraf and Karzai with an aim to improving the security situation in Afghanistan. In April 2007, President Sezer and PM Erdogan hosted the two leaders in Ankara where they issued their first-ever joint declaration. The Ankara Declaration committed Afghanistan and Pakistan to enhanced cooperation on counter-terrorism and drug trafficking, intelligence sharing, cultural exchanges, and refugee repatriation. The first follow-up meeting to monitor implementation of the commitments made in Ankara took place in July, and the GOT expects the leaders to reconvene again in Turkey, in late 2007 or early 2008 (ref A).

Comment: When Turkey Talks Pakistan Listens

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¶13. (C) For western-oriented Turkey, Pakistan is a culturally and geographically distant country. Turkey's leaders probably overstate the affection that most Turks personally hold for Pakistan. Yet six decades of nearly uninterrupted cooperation between the two governments -- and militaries -- has created and reinforced a uniquely special relationship. Turkey's democratic credentials, constant professions of brotherhood, and its steadfast support for President Musharraf have positioned the GOT to exert influence on him at this critical juncture in Pakistan's future. The GOT, always adverse to even the perception of interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan, but it might now be ready, quietly but directly, to deliver the difficult message to Musharraf that the time has come to make some changes.

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